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August 3, 1983

Dear Sir/Madam:

Because of your interest in the area of national security and terrorism, I am enclosing two records of hearings held by the Subcommittee which have been recently published.

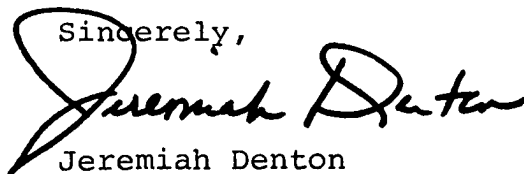
The first volume entitled "The Antiterrorism and Foreign Mercenary Act" focuses on the issue of Americans furnishing services or information to terrorist groups and foreign governments, such as occurred in the Wilson/Terpil case.

The second volume entitled "DEA Oversight and Authorization" is the record of the Subcommittee's 1983 oversight hearing, which contains a current assessment of our nation's drug problems and of our government's efforts to address them.

I am also enclosing a copy of the FBI's report entitled "Soviet Active Measures Relating to the U.S. Peace Movement" and a statement concerning Soviet-sponsored African National Congress (ANC) terrorism in South Africa.

I trust this information will be informative and useful.

Sincerely,



Jeremiah Denton
U.S.S.

JD:mm

Enclosures





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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 98th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MARCH 24, 1983

No. 39—Part II

Senate

YOUNG RELEASES FBI REPORT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment the sincerity of the vast majority of Americans who are actively involved in the peace movement. They hope, as I do, that someday the threat of nuclear war will be eliminated and people throughout the world can live together in harmony and peace.

The American people, however, need to know that while we genuinely seek to preserve the peace, the Soviet Union is attempting to take advantage of this call for peace by the American people to reduce America's credibility in the world. Through its intricate propaganda network, the Soviets are trying to convince the world that the United States supports the nuclear arms race and is thwarting attempts to negotiate a nuclear arms freeze. The success of this propaganda campaign is most evident in Europe. Even though Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles are poised within striking distance of Western Europe, without any comparable deployment by U.S. or NATO forces, protestors in those countries continue to portray the United States, rather than the Soviet Union, as the great threat to world peace.

The same Soviet active measures operations that have contributed to this propaganda effort in Europe are also being used here in our own Nation. The Intelligence Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has prepared a report entitled "Soviet Active Measures Relating to the U.S. Peace Movement," which outlines this Soviet effort and attests to its success in the United States.

The portions of that report which I am releasing today have been declassified by the FBI at my request so we can share with the American people the extensive Soviet propaganda effort being undertaken within our own borders.

As the FBI report states:

During the past 2 years, the Soviet Union has increased its efforts in the United States to exploit popular causes such as peace and disarmament. The Soviets have initiated an active measures campaign designed to penetrate, influence and mobilize the U.S. peace movement and to discredit American defense and arms control and disarmament policies.

The FBI acknowledges that the Soviets do not intend to control totally the American peace and freeze movements. Instead, the Soviet goal is to focus the movement against the United States and our defense policies instead of the Soviet Union and other world powers which also possess nuclear weapons.

The FBI report says:

The Soviet peace campaign, for instance, is designed to focus public attention on new American nuclear weapons systems and to help create the impression that the Soviet Union is more interested than the United States in serious arms control and disarmament negotiations. This campaign does not require direct Soviet control or manipulation to be effective. The Soviets believe they can achieve these objectives through a planned series of arms control and disarmament proposals that play on the sentiments of the Western peace movements in concert with the systematic use of the Soviet worldwide propaganda apparatus, international fronts and local Communist parties, and trusted contacts and agents.

The FBI, both in the classified and unclassified portions of the report, provides examples of the success of the Soviets in influencing the U.S. peace and freeze movements.

Two Soviet organizations—the KGB and the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Soviet Union—are the principal forces controlling the Soviet peace offensive in the United States.

In a report presented to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence last year, together with the testimony of Edward O'Malley, Assistant Director of the FBI Intelligence Division, the FBI specified the objectives of the Soviet KGB in the United States. According to the FBI—

A primary focus of the KGB has been arms control and disarmament matters and

the American peace movement. KGB officers have recently instructed their contacts to devote serious attention to the antiwar movement in the United States, especially with respect to coalitions forming among the various factions within the movement. The KGB is particularly interested in information concerning the peace movement's slogans, political platforms, plans for conferences or demonstrations, and relations with European antiwar groups. In addition, KGB officers have recently asked their contacts in the peace movement to report on meetings, participate in the planning of demonstrations, and distribute leaflets and other publications. Some KGB officers are also directly involved in efforts to influence the U.S. peace movement.

In coordination with the KGB's covert active measures to penetrate and influence the peace and freeze movements, the International Department of the Central Committee directs the activities of the Communist Party U.S.A. and its front organizations involved in the U.S. peace movement.

The FBI report on active measures says that—

In the Soviet peace offensive, the CPSU International Department orchestrates the activities of Soviet-controlled international front organizations and their U.S. affiliates; and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

More importantly, the report says:

The CPSU International Department transmits directives to these organizations and arranges for Soviet funding of their activities and projects.

Soviet funding for the Communist Party U.S.A. and its front organizations is transmitted through KGB channels, according to FBI testimony in July before the House Intelligence Committee.

To better understand the methods employed by the Soviets in their active measures campaign, it is important to be familiar with the organizations they utilize in this effort.

The FBI and CIA agree that the largest and most significant of the international Soviet front organizations is the World Peace Council. The FBI in its report says:

At Soviet direction, the World Peace Council has placed the highest priority on the peace movement and a campaign to oppose intermediate-range nuclear force deployments in Europe.

The FBI report indicates that a major objective of the council was to exploit the second special session on disarmament at the United Nations and the coinciding June 12 demonstration in New York City as a means of opposing American defense policies. The planning and organization of this demonstration last year is a prime example of a variety of Soviet active measures at work, and I will discuss this particular event later in my re-

marks.

World Peace Council activities in the United States have been coordinated and carried out in the past by the Soviet-financed Communist Party U.S.A. During 1979, however, CPUSA established a chapter of the World Peace Council known as the U.S. Peace Council. Key leadership positions in the U.S. Peace Council were given to Communist Party U.S.A. members.

As a result, the FBI reports—

With the establishment of the USPC, WPC-related activities in the United States increased noticeably. Utilizing various symposia, conferences, demonstrations and publications, the USPC persistently lobbied for the halt of American nuclear weapons production and deployment, particularly the "neutron bomb" and intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe.

The FBI report is quite candid about the direct relationship between the Communist Party U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. According to the report—

The CPUSA is one of the most loyal, pro-Soviet communist parties in the world and its leadership accepts Soviet directives and funding on a regular basis. During the past few years, the CPSU International Department has instructed the CPUSA to place high priority on the issues of arms control and disarmament and the peace movement.

An important propaganda arm of the Soviets in the United States is the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which the FBI reports, regularly arranges meetings, press conferences, radio and television interviews, and lecture or speaking engagements for Soviet officials assigned to the United States as well as Soviet delegations visiting the United States.

A similar group called the Committee for U.S.-U.S.S.R. Citizens' Dialogue was formed in 1979 in the United States. This group hosted a 28-member Soviet delegation that visited our country in October 1981. The committee organized a variety of public appearances for the group in several major cities and provided an opportunity for the delegation to promote Soviet views on arms control and disarmament issues and encouraged the American people to support the peace movement.

The FBI reports that the Soviet delegation's visit to the United States was among the first in a series of Soviet measures relating to the U.S. peace movement.

Just prior to the delegation visit, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which I mentioned earlier, held its third national convention in Madison, Wis. The FBI reports that the September 1981 convention "was primarily a call for a campaign of peace action to focus the entire blame

for arms escalation and the cold war can weapons systems. climate on the U.S. Government."

The FBI detailed in its report how As an indication of Direct Soviet the Soviets successfully shifted the participation in the convention. The focus of the demonstration. During FBI reports that two Soviet officials the June 12 committee meetings, the addressed the convention and actively FBI reports that U.S. Peace Council participated in workshop discussion and Communist Party U.S.A. representations. The two Soviet officials were sentatives to the committee camp-Vadim Gorin, Deputy Secretary Gen' paigned to direct the focus exclusively eral in charge of the U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. against U.S. nuclear weapons systems Friendship Society in Moscow, and and away from Soviet weapons sys-Vladimir Zolotukhin, who was as tems. This effort to shift the focus of signed to the Soviet Embassy in Wash the rally caused some internal discontent among committee members, but ington.

Two months later, the U.S. Peace the FBI reports that the Soviet con-Council held its Second National Con-trolled groups succeeded in influenc-ference in New York City, with the ing the committee to focus the demon-theme being "In the Common Inter-stration primarily on U.S. responsibili-est—Strategies for Peace." The FBI re-ty for the arms race. This theme was ports convention workshops focused reflected in the official call of the on how to organize and unify the committee which claimed: masses around the peace issue.

From the 1979 organization of the U.S. Peace Council thorough the various visiting Soviet delegations and front organization conferences, the Soviets were preparing their propa-and leading the technological, first-strike ganda network to influence the build- weapons race, the U.S. Government is the ing U.S. peace and nuclear freeze least willing to stop its nuclear insanity. movements. The FBI reports that a The official call of the June 12 com-principal target of Soviet active meas- mittee is evidence of the success of the ures in 1982 was the June 12 demon- Soviet active measure campaign in this stration in New York City, which I re- instance. The Communists were also ferred to earlier. Soviet involvement in successful in lending an organizational the organization of this demonstration hand to the demonstration. A U.S. provides a tremendous case study of Peace Council open letter boasted that Soviet active measures at work. As the Communists "also bring to the move-FBI states in its report—

Nearly every instrument of Soviet active missing sense of organization, direc- measures was directed towards infiltrating tion, and ideological cohesiveness." and influencing the June 12 Committee, the The success of the Soviet active meas- organization that was formed to plan and ures campaign in turning the theme of coordinate the demonstration. the largest peace and freeze demon-

Many of the Soviet controlled stration in recent years into an anti-U.S. nuclear weapons demonstration confirms the boast. groups I mentioned before, such as the U.S. Peace Council, Communist Party U.S.A., and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, were among the sponsors of the June 12 demonstration. The FBI reports that these organizations were actively involved at the National, State, and local levels in enlisting support for and participation in the demonstration.

The FBI is very careful in its report to acknowledge that the Soviets did not totally dominate the demonstra- tion. Instead, they worked behind the scenes through their elaborately orga- nized active measures operations to shift the focus of the demonstration.

The FBI report included this extremely important section:

Soviet-controlled organizations participat- ed at the highest levels of the June 12 com- mittee and exerted pressure to influence the June 12 committee to focus on U.S. nuclear weapons policies as opposed to Soviet poli- cies. Of course, the Soviets also exploited this large demonstration in its worldwide propaganda campaign against new Ameri-

The demonstration addresses all govern- ments which have developed nuclear arms and which compete in the international arms race, but its primary focus is on the U.S. Government. Possessing more nuclear bombs than all other countries combined

and leading the technological, first-strike weapons race, the U.S. Government is the least willing to stop its nuclear insanity. The official call of the June 12 com- mittee is evidence of the success of the Soviet active measure campaign in this instance. The Communists were also successful in lending an organizational hand to the demonstration. A U.S. Peace Council open letter boasted that Communists "also bring to the move- ments in which they work a sometimes

Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose in releasing this report to discredit the efforts of the thousands of Americans who have made their dream for peace known. I share this hope and pray that it someday will come true. The American people, however, have a right to know how the Soviets utilize this very legitimate desire to their benefit as a weapon in their active measures campaign against the United States.

Last July at my request, the Intelli- gence Committee held 2 days of hear- ings to take testimony from the CIA, FBI, and Stanislav Levchenko, a former high-ranking KGB officer who defected to the United States. He was the first Soviet active measures officer to make himself available to our intel- ligence organizations.

During his testimony, Mr. Lev- chencko provided detailed accounts of Soviet active measures operations he

was directly involved in while stationed in Japan. Although he was not directly involved with active measures operations in our country, we learned from the CIA and the FBI that Soviet influence operations such as his in Japan are similar to those employed by the Soviet Union throughout the world, including the United States. The FBI report I am releasing today supplements the FBI testimony during these hearings.

This report, which I will submit for the Record in its entirety, is a declassified version of a much lengthier report. I have requested that the FBI declassify and release even more of the report on "Soviet Active Measures Relating to the U.S. Peace Movement," so the American people can have a better understanding of the tactics to which the Soviets will resort to achieve their goal of world domination.

Mr. Speaker, because of the leadership of this House and our colleagues, I have the privilege of serving on the Select Committee on Intelligence and the Appropriations Subcommittee on National Defense.

From that standpoint I can tell those who are concerned that the United States is no threat to the freedom of the world. The United States is not now and never has been a threat to the freedom of any other nation.

We have no plans to control other nations like the Soviet Union does in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and so many others. We have no plans to use our military to establish satellites like the Soviet Union has in Cuba or Vietnam. We do not plan to invade any other nations with our military like the Soviets have done in Afghanistan.

What we want to do, Mr. Speaker, is to make sure that those things do not happen to us. We want to make sure that we have the ability to protect the United States and the American people and our national interests, whatever they might be.

An informed America is an essential ingredient in that effort. It is in that spirit that I make this presentation today and release the unclassified version of the FBI's report entitled "Soviet Active Measures Relating to the U.S. Peace Movement":

**FBI INTELLIGENCE DIVISION REPORT ON
SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES RELATING TO THE
U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT, MARCH 1983**

Soviet leaders have publicly backed the peace and nuclear freeze movements, seeing an opportunity to encourage opposition in the West to current U.S. arms control and defense policies. Through official communiques, propaganda, and active measures operations, the Soviets have maneuvered to align themselves with popular sentiments of

the peace movements in the United States and Western Europe, with the prospect that Western public opinion might dissuade Western Governments from deploying the new weapons systems. (U)

During the past two years, the Soviet Union has increased its efforts in the United States to exploit popular causes such as peace and disarmament. The Soviets have initiated an active measures campaign designed to penetrate, influence, and mobilize the U.S. peace movement and to discredit American defense and arms control and disarmament policies. (U)

The Soviet organizations principally involved in the Soviet peace offensive in the United States are the KGB and the International Department of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The principal objectives of the KGB are to collect information on the U.S. peace movement and to recruit sources to penetrate and influence the movement. (U)

The CPSU International Department directs the activities of the principal instruments of the Soviet campaign to penetrate and influence the U.S. peace movement: Soviet-controlled international front organizations and their U.S. affiliates; the Communist Party, U.S.A. and its front organizations, and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The Soviets also use representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, USSR Academy of Science, Soviet media establishments, and other party and government agencies in active measures operations. (U)

This report examines Soviet active measures relating to the U.S. peace movement. Section I identifies the Soviet organizations and front groups that are involved in the Soviet peace campaign. Section II documents specific Soviet active measures and focuses, in particular, on the Soviet effort to influence the June 12, 1982, demonstration for peace and disarmament in New York. The final section of this report presents an assessment of Soviet active measures relating to the U.S. peace movement. (U)

I. INSTRUMENTS OF THE SOVIET PEACE OFFENSIVE

CPSU International Department

In the Soviet peace offensive, the CPSU International Department orchestrates the activities of Soviet-controlled international front organizations and their U.S. affiliates; the Communist Party, U.S.A. and its front organizations; and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The CPSU International Department transmits directives to these organizations and arranges for Soviet funding of their activities and projects. Although it has few representatives stationed in the United States, the CPSU International Department works with officials of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and KGB officers to monitor and direct the activities of these organizations. (U)

KGB

The KGB is also attempting to develop contacts with religious figures in the United States. The Soviets believe that the participation of American clergy and religious organizations in the peace movement is extremely desirable, since it lends the aura of moral legitimacy to the movement.

KGB officers have also collected personal and biographic information on several peace activists in the United States. The purpose of this exercise is to identify those peace activists who are likely to cooperate with the Soviet Government and to determine if any of these individuals are vulnerable to recruitment operations. The KGB also systematically collects the public statements and speeches of leading peace activists, with the ultimate aid of selectively replaying in the Soviet media or in covert media placements in other countries, those views that parallel Soviet foreign policy and propaganda interest. (U)

World Peace Council and U.S. Peace Council

At Soviet direction, the World Peace Council (WPC) has placed the highest priority on the peace movement and a campaign to oppose intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) deployments in Europe. The WPC Program of Action for 1982 called for a worldwide campaign against the danger of nuclear war, and it was clearly directed at U.S. defense and arms control policies. A principal objective of this campaign was to exploit the Second Special Session on Disarmament at the United Nations (SSOD II) and the coinciding June 12 demonstration to discredit American defense policies. (U)

WPC activities in the United States have been coordinated in the past by the CPUSA. During 1979, however, the CPUSA assigned two of its long-time members to establish a U.S. chapter of the WPC. At its founding convention in November, 1979, the United States Peace Council (USPC) became an affiliate of the WPC, and the key leadership positions in the USPC were given to SPUSA members. In addition, the memberships of many local chapters of the USPC are predominantly comprised of CPUSA members. (U)

With the establishment of the USPC, WPC-related activities in the United States increased noticeably. Utilizing various symposia, conferences, demonstrations, and publications, the USPC persistently lobbied for the halt of American nuclear weapons production and deployment, particularly the "neutron bomb" and intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe. (U)

The USPC sponsored two high-level WPC delegations to the United States in 1981. These delegations toured major American cities and addressed sizeable meetings of trade unionists, academicians, students, and women and peace activists. They stressed the peace and disarmament theme and encouraged the USPC and other organizations to initiate letter-writing campaigns, rallies, and demonstrations. (U)

The Soviets believe that this is an ideal time to influence American trade unions because of the economic problems of recession, high interest rates, and unemployment. Consequently, the Soviets have requested the WFTU and CPUSA to convince American labor to support the peace movement, under such slogans as "jobs for peace," and to promote the view in trade union circles that increased defense spending and exploitation by multinational corporations are the main reasons for the poor economic situation in the United States. (U)

Communist Party, U.S.A.

The CPUSA is one of the most loyal, pro-Soviet communist parties in the world and its leadership accepts Soviet directives and funding on a regular basis. During the past few years, the CPSU International Department has instructed the CPUSA to place high priority on the issues of arms control and disarmament and the peace movement. Although outside the mainstream of American political life and operating with a small membership, the CPUSA has responded to Soviet requests for assistance with fervor. The organization has initiated letter-writing campaigns, sponsored and participated in demonstrations and rallies, formed coalitions with other organizations, and sponsored seminars and workshops to promote Soviet views on arms control and disarmament matters and to mobilize the American peace movement. (U)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

The Soviet friendship society in the United States is the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF). Established by the CPUSA in 1943, the NCASF claims that it is an independent organization whose purpose is to promote friendship, understanding, and cultural and educational exchanges between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union. In practice, however, the NCASF works to advance the foreign policy and propaganda objectives of the USSR. (U)

The Soviets have urged the NCASF to focus its activities on arms control and disarmament matters and the peace movement. The NCASF has responded by sponsoring letterwriting campaigns, rallies, and demonstrations to support Soviet interests in this matter. Local chapters of the NCASF were instructed by NCASF headquarters in April, 1981, to join peace coalitions in their areas and to ensure that such matters as a freeze on nuclear weapons and Soviet attitudes toward peaceful co-existence are brought to the attention of the American people. (U)

The NCASF has arranged meetings, press conferences, radio and television interviews, and lecture or speaking engagements for Soviet officials assigned to the United States and Soviet delegations that visit the United States. During the period April-June, 1982, three Soviet delegations sponsored by the NCASF visited the United States. Two of the Soviet delegations toured cities on the West Coast and engaged in propaganda activities aimed at discrediting U.S. positions on nuclear disarmament and promoting the U.S. peace movement. Members of the Soviet delegation were interviewed by the local media and appeared on local radio talk shows and newscasts. The third Soviet delegation participated in similar activities in major American cities on the East Coast. (U)

II. SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES VIS-A-VIS THE U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT

Documented below, in roughly chronological order, are Soviet active measures operations vis-a-vis the U.S. peace movement. These operations, together with other Soviet active measures previously discussed in Section I of this report, document overt and covert Soviet plans and activities to penetrate and influence the U.S. peace movement. (U)

A. U.S.-USSR Citizens' Dialogue

In 1973, a group of American citizens from a variety of nongovernmental organizations (including several religious organizations) formed the Committee for U.S.-USSR Citizens' Dialogue, under whose umbrella a series of "U.S.-USSR Citizens' Conferences on Peace and Security" were to be held. The declared purpose of the Dialogue is to promote understanding, cooperation, and peaceful relations between the two countries, by launching citizen to citizen exchanges with Soviet citizens from several Soviet "public, nongovernmental organizations," such as the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies, the Committee of Youth Organizations, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Soviet Peace Committee, and the All-Union Central Trade Union Council. Each of the organizations listed above, however, are Soviet affiliates of international front organizations, and they are controlled by the CPSU International Department. (U)

In October, 1981, a 28-member Soviet delegation traveled to the United States, at the invitation of the U.S.-USSR Citizens' Dialogue, to attend a "Conference of Peace and International Security." The delegation visited several American cities, including Washington, D.C.; Toledo, Ohio; Austin, Texas; and Pasadena, California. Members of the delegation conducted press conferences, appeared on radio talk shows, and spoke before several American audiences, including church organizations. The visitors promoted Soviet views on arms control and disarmament issues and encouraged the American people to support the peace movement. (U)

B. NCASF Third National Convention

The Third National Convention of the NCASF transpired September 11-13, 1981, in Madison, Wisconsin. Opening speeches were presented by the National Chairman and the Executive Director of the NCASF, and the theme of these speeches dealt with disarmament and world peace. Soviet representatives at the convention, including Vadim Gorin, Deputy Secretary General in charge of the USSR-USA Friendship Society in Moscow, and Vladimir Zolotukhin, a Soviet official assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., addressed the convention and actively participated in workshop discussions. They presented Soviet views on arms control and disarmament issues and urged the NCASF and other American organizations to increase their efforts in the peace movement. (U)

The theme of the convention was "Negotiate Now," which was primarily a call for a campaign of peace action to focus the entire blame for arms escalation and the cold war climate on the U.S. Government. At the same time, Soviet arms control and disarmament proposals were praised at the convention, and a publication listing Soviet peace and disarmament decrees, proposals, agreements, and treaties from 1917 to the present were passed to the participants for distribution to American officials and the general public. (U)

Petitions decrying U.S. plans to develop and deploy the "neutron bomb" and calling for a nuclear freeze were also distributed to the convention delegates. The delegates

were instructed to persuade American people in their districts to sign the petitions and send them to Senators, Congressmen, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and President Reagan at the White House. The convention outlined plans to wage campaigns to persuade national political figures and city mayors and councils to adopt resolutions against nuclear war and for a nuclear freeze. The convention also resolved to participate in and add its voice to the Solidarity Day march sponsored by the AFL-CIO, which was held in Washington, D.C., in September, 1981, and which attracted a sizeable number of demonstrators. (U)

The proceedings of the NCASF Third National Convention demonstrate Soviet influence over this American organization. The NCASF was aggressively promoting Soviet views on peace and disarmament through the distribution of publications and circulation of petitions at the national and local levels. (U)

C. USPC Second National Conference

In November, 1981, the USPC held its Second National Conference in New York City with the theme of "In the Common Interest-Strategies for Peace". The conference mapped out plans for intensified work around the major WPC activities and campaigns, including workshops on disarmament, international solidarity with liberation struggles, conferences on the domestic consequences of the arms race, and electoral strategies for peace. Workshops also focused on how to organize and unify the masses around the peace issue. (U)

Proposals passed by the conference attendees included calling on local USPC chapters to introduce referenda for "jobs with peace" to city and state elected bodies and to campaign for a nuclear freeze proposal on electoral ballots. The conference also passed a resolution condemning the U.S. State Department denial of a visa for the Soviet Peace Committee delegate to the conference and another resolution condemning the Reagan Administration for creating a hostile climate as a rationale for armed intervention by the United States in Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, or El Salvador. (U)

Two U.S. Congressmen and a high-level delegation of the World Peace Council, led by Romesh Chandra, attended the USPC conference. In his address to the conference, Chandra stressed the peace and disarmament theme and encouraged the USPC to initiate letter-writing campaigns, rallies, and demonstrations concerning the peace movement. He emphasized the importance of thwarting U.S. plans to modernize theatre nuclear forces in Western Europe and praised the nuclear freeze proposals made by the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev. The USPC Second National Convention convincingly demonstrated the one-sided, pro-Soviet views of the WPC/USPC. (U)

D. Hemispheric Conference of Soviet Friendship Societies

The proposed Hemispheric Conference of Soviet Friendship Societies illustrates the patient behind-the-scenes maneuvering by Soviet and Cuban Governments to exploit friendship societies for active measures purposes. The Soviets hope to coordinate the activities of friendship societies in an orchestrated attack against U.S. policies in

Central and Latin America and on peace and disarmament issues. (U)

E. WPC "Discussion on Disarmament"

WPC conferences, such as the above, are widely publicized by the Soviet Union to enhance worldwide protest against American defense policies. Soviet and WPC officials exploit the participation of American public officials in WPC/USPC activities to lend legitimacy to these organizations. (U)

F. Soviet "peace delegations" sponsored by the NCASF

The Soviets systematically use NCASF sponsored tours to promote Soviet policies and propaganda concerning peace and disarmament to the American people and to conduct covert active measures. The NCASF arranges meetings, press conferences, radio and television interviews, and lecture or speaking engagements for both Soviet officials assigned to the United States and Soviet delegations that visit the United States. (U)

A 21-member Soviet tourist group arrived in Los Angeles April 29, 1982, from Mexico City to begin a twelve day tourist excursion to Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego. The tour was sponsored by the NCASF. (U)

Members of the group engaged in propaganda activities aimed at discrediting the U.S. position on nuclear disarmament. While in San Francisco, Soviet tour member Eduard Batalov, an historian with the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, was a guest of a radio talk show and discussed the Soviet position on nuclear disarmament. (U)

In San Diego, Batalov and the other members of the tour were met at the airport by members of the local media. Batalov was the subject of two San Diego newspaper articles dated May 8 and 10, 1982. In the latter article, Batalov excoriated the Reagan Administration's position on Soviet proposals regarding nuclear disarmament and on the possibility for limited nuclear warfare. (U)

A 16-member Soviet tourist group, sponsored by the NCASF, entered the United States in June, 1982. In this group was Vladimir Dunayev, identified on his visa as a television political commentator. On the evening of June 12, 1982, a San Diego television station reported that during an anti-nuclear rally held in San Diego, an individual, whom the newscaster identified as a visiting Soviet tourist, was observed walking alongside the demonstrators and, utilizing professional recording equipment, recorded the events of that day. This Soviet visitor was later identified as Dunayev. A television newscast of the rally included an interview with a member of the Soviet tourist group, who made disparaging comments on U.S. arms control and disarmament policies. (U)

G. The nuclear weapons freeze campaign

According to newspaper accounts, Kapralov made an extremely favorable impression on the conference attendees. Both Bogdanov and Kapralov participated on the various panels, and they urged the attendees to redouble their efforts to prevent deployments of new American weapons systems. (U)

H. June 12 demonstrations

A principal target of Soviet active measures in 1982 was the June 12, 1982, demonstration in New York City, which was held in conjunction with the Second Special Ses-

sion on Disarmament at the United States (SSOD II). nearly every instrument of Soviet active measures was directed towards infiltrating and influencing the June 12 Committee, the organization that was formed to plan and coordinate the demonstration. (U)

Soviet Involvement

Representatives of the CPSU or one of the Soviet controlled international front organizations that have official status with the United Nations (i.e., the WPC, WFTU, Women's International Democratic Federation, Christian Peace Conference, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth) were invited to participate in SSOD II by the United Nations. Many of these individuals actively lobbied for Soviet peace and disarmament policies during SSOD II meetings at the United Nations and during the June 12 demonstrations. (U)

USPC Involvement

The USPC, NCASF, CPUSA, and several CPUSA front organizations were among the over 100 national sponsors of the June 12 peace and disarmament demonstration. These organizations were actively involved at the national, state, and local levels in enlisting support for and participation in the June 12 demonstrations. They made travel and accommodation arrangements for rally attendees and sponsored foreign delegations that traveled to the United States for the demonstration. (U)

In March, 1982, the USPC sent a letter to the general public requesting their participation in and support of the June 12 demonstration. The letter informs the public that the USPC has made mobilization for June 12 its first priority for the next 100 days. It urges the recipients to join the local June 12 Coalition, reserve buses to New York, solicit the participation of local civic organizations and city councils, pass resolutions in support of SSOD II and the June 12 demonstration, and support the fight against the "Reagan War Budget." (U)

The USPC played an important role in the planning and organization of the June 12 demonstration. The USPC was one of ten organizations sanctioned by the June 12 Committee to serve as information centers for American citizens and organizations who were seeking information on the platforms and activities of the June 12 demonstration. One USPC official, Sandra Pollock, was assigned by the June 12 Committee to organize and coordinate the logistics of the demonstration. (U)

The USPC had at least one seat on the June 12 executive committee. Michael Myerson and Sandra Pollock, two USPC officials who are also national leaders of the CPUSA, were active participants in executive committee meetings. During June 12 Committee meetings, the USPC/CPUSA representatives actively campaigned to direct the focus of the demonstration exclusively against U.S. nuclear weapons systems and away from Soviet weapons systems. (U)

According to articles in several noncommunist publications, there were substantial internal problems in the June 12 Committee as a result of the insistence of USPC/CPUSA representatives that the rally should focus exclusively on U.S. arms control and disarmament policies. An article by Ronald Radosh in The New Republic re-

counts the USPC's campaign to "tone down the official rally call so that it was not equally addressed to the United States and the Soviet Union." According to Radosh, the USPC held one seat on the June 12 Committee and "four other seats were held by communists or fellow travelers." (U)

These revelations are consistent with the public statements of the USPC/CPUSA which also claim they had a significant impact on the June 12 Committee proceedings. In a brochure entitled, "The New 'Red Scare': An Open Letter," the USPC defends communist participation in the peace movement stating that communists "also bring to the movements in which they work a sometimes-missing sense of organization, direction and ideological cohesiveness." This brochure, which the USPC has distributed to nearly all of the major peace organizations in the United States, claims that the USPC played, "a key role in the development of the June 12 demonstrations." (U)

According to public accounts, a compromise was finally reached in the June 12 Committee to focus primarily on U.S. responsibility for the arms race. The Committee's rationale was that the Soviet Union supports several Committee proposals, including a bilateral nuclear freeze, and the June 12 demonstration was primarily designed to influence the U.S. Government position on nuclear disarmament. This compromise was clearly reflected in the official call of the June 12 Committee which said:

"The demonstration addresses all governments which have developed nuclear arms and which compete in the international arms race, but its primary focus is on the United States Government. Possessing more nuclear bombs than all other countries combined and leading the technological, first-strike weapons race, the U.S. government is the least willing to stop its nuclear insanity. The demonstrators are absolutely clear that only when there is a strong citizen's movement to reverse and end the arms race will the U.S. government change its policies regarding first use, first-strike and nuclear deterrence. The June 12th Rally reveals once again that the disarmament movement in the United States is rapidly growing and increasingly powerful." (U)

The Soviets were satisfied that the USPC/CPUSA was successful in directing the focus of the rally against U.S. arms control and defense policies and later boasted in a propaganda booklet:

"But it is a fact, said Pravda's special correspondent A. Vasilyev who was in New York City on June 12, that during the seven hours of the demonstration and rally attended by a million people on the day I did not see a single anti-Soviet placard. I asked my acquaintances and friends about it, and some of them said that there had been some small groups, maybe one or two placards in a thousand." (U)

CPUSA Involvement

In April 1982, the CPUSA held an Extraordinary Conference in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The meeting was attended by an estimated 700 participants, including a large number of nonparty individuals. The purpose of the meeting was to move the entire party to bolder, more militant positions on various issues, including the peace movement. CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall stated, "We may have to stage and initiate

sit-ins, kneel-ins, and confrontations. Maybe a few of us will get our heads busted . . . Some of us may go to jail." (U)

During the Extraordinary Conference, CPUSA officials outlined the following steps to organize for the June 12 demonstration:

Every club discuss concretely at its next meeting how it is going to build for June 12. That there be a strong Party presence on June 12th, with banners and literature in addition to the Party press.

That we help develop a national trade union peace network out of the local union activity on behalf of the freeze and in support of June 12.

That where the U.S. Peace Council (USPC) exists, we work with others to aid its participation for June 12; where it doesn't exist we work with others to try to launch local Peace Council participation with buses and banners; that we undertake to help distribute a half-million USPC special leaflets for June 12th.

That we implement the proposals of Comrade Hall in his Central Committee report "What The Reds Say Today," particularly the need to help build multi-racial, multi-national, working class affiliates to the USPC at the grass roots. It was stressed that such instruments of struggle are necessary to influence other movements even as we cooperate, not compete, with them. Attention was paid to some liquidationist tendencies, to the absolute need to support the legitimacy of the USPC in all struggles and to link up economic and peace struggles.

That we work to overcome the weaknesses of approach now evident among white middle-strata forces in the organized peace movement that create obstacles to the full participation of the Black and other minority communities. Discussion in the workshop affirmed the urgency of taking actions to bring the local and national operational leadership of peace movements into conformity with the actual reality of the situation in respect to the position of the entire Afro-American community which is solidly against Reaganism and militarism.

That larger districts create or reactivate Peace and Solidarity Commissions within the Party to guide the work. Smaller districts should assign a cadre to be in charge of the work.

Reaffirmed the inseparability of the struggle for disarmament and support for the liberation movements such as the A.N.C. of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia, FMLN-FDR of El Salvador and the PLO; and affirmed that the anti-interventionism movements gaining great strength in the churches, unions, communities and campuses represent an inseparable part of the anti-Reagan all people's front. (U)

In January, 1982, local CPUSA districts were instructed to institute plans to take part in demonstrations that were scheduled to occur in the Spring of 1982 to protest the Reagan Administration's views on nuclear disarmament. CPUSA members were urged to write letters to their Congressmen and take part in as many demonstrations as possible in an effort to force the Reagan Administration to alter its views on disarmament. Members were also urged to back individuals at all levels of government who would be sympathetic to these views. (U)

The CPUSA also placed representatives

on the June 12 Committee. In an article reprinted in the January 14, 1983, edition of the *Wall Street Journal*, CPUSA member Bruce Kimmel publicly stated that he was CPUSA representative to the June 12 Committee. Kimmel claimed that he and his party were extremely active in planning and organizing the demonstration. (U)

Following the June 12 rally, a memo from the Organization Department and National Peace and Solidarity Committee of the CPUSA national headquarters was sent to all districts. The memo stated that the Party was extremely active in working to make the June 12 demonstration an outstanding success. The memo emphasized, however, that it is a critical period for the U.S. peace movement and the Reagan Administration is proceeding with the largest military buildup in history and shows no signs that it is ready to negotiate seriously with the Soviet Union. According to the memo, the new target of the CPUSA is the November elections, and the American peace movement will ask candidates across the country to take a public position on the nuclear freeze proposal and cuts in the military budget. The memo suggested that local coalitions should link up with other forces, especially those involved in economic struggles, which have an interest in removing Reagan supporters from office . . . every effort should be made to popularize the decisions of SSOD II . . . chapters should continue nuclear freeze petitioning and join with other peace and disarmament groups to build local peace councils. (U)

NCASF Involvement

The NCASF was also active in planning the organizing for the June 12 demonstration. In April, 1982, a chapter of the NCASF recounted its activities in response to the Peace Action Program adopted by the NCASF in 1982:

"Our monthly Open Forums have been generally successful. With better planning and increasing the staff of the publicity committee and its systematic approach to sending out press releases, advertising in more university and community newspapers and contacting local radio and television stations, we are confident the forums will succeed . . . We have been actively participating in coalitions working on the June 12th demonstration in New York in support of the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament . . . We are distributing flyers, selling tickets and helping to plan with the NCASF for the May 7th Carnegie Hall Rally, which is aimed at building popular support for the June 12th demonstration. (U)

In May, 1982, the NCASF organized and sponsored a peace rally at Carnegie Hall called the "Rally for Peace, Disarmament and Social Progress." The rally was designed to mobilize public opinion behind SSOD II and the June 12 rally. Public figures and well-known entertainers also attended the rally. (U)

WFTU representative Ernest DeMaio delivered a speech at this affair that blamed the current economic problems in the United States on the "military-industrial complex whose imperialist nature and arms budget advance the interests of the rich to the detriment of the poor." He called for a nuclear freeze and praised the late Soviet leader Brezhnev's initiatives for a freeze of nuclear arms in Europe, nuclear free zones

in the Nordic and Indian Ocean regions, and other Soviet initiatives. (U)

Following this meeting, the NCASF disseminated a letter to its affiliates requesting additional fund-raising activities and financial support for NCASF peace activities. The letter listed the recent accomplishments of the NCASF:

"We were members of the National June 12th Steering Committee. Our members helped organize the million who marched in New York, and were among the 100,000 in the Rose Bowl, the 50,000 in San Francisco and in local demonstration elsewhere;

"Our very successful Carnegie Hall Rally for Peace, Disarmament and Social Progress, May 7th, which featured among others Representatives Parren Mitchell, Counselor Oleg Sokolov of the Soviet Embassy and Pete Seeger, was a part of the mobilization effort for June 12th.

"Our leaflet 'In the Name of Humanity' has been widely distributed and a large printing of a new issue of Friendship News has just appeared;

"On June 15th we published 'Swords into Plowshares: Soviet Initiatives for Peace, Security and Disarmament, 1917-1982', a ground-breaking forty-page booklet which, listing specific Soviet proposals year by year and the responses they elicited, demonstrates the consistency of the Soviet campaign for peace from the first decree of the Soviet state, November 8, 1917 down to this year;

"We helped organize a Peace Cruise on the Volga River which will take place August 5-22 and was filled up by February;

"We received five very successful Good Will Missions and a lecturer from the Soviet Union by the middle of the year, and will be host three more missions later this year, at a time when contacts between U.S. and Soviet citizens are becoming rarer and more precious;

"Dick Morford, our Executive Director Emeritus, helped organize the U.S. delegation for and participated in the great inter-religious conference on peace held in Moscow in May which Billy Graham also attended." (U)

The letter also included a warning about complacency in the peace movement:

"This is a most critical moment for the peace movement. There must be continued forward movement or we risk severe setbacks. If the new and powerful U.S. peace movement should come to be dominated by anti-Soviet influences the disarmament process will be hindered rather than helped. The Administration must not be permitted to continue its inflammatory anti-Soviet rhetoric which threatens efforts to re-establish detente." (U)

Based on available information, we do not believe that the Soviet Union and its proxies directly controlled the proceedings of the June 12 rally, nor were they primarily responsible for the large turnout at the rally. The overwhelming majority of the nearly one million people that attended the June 12 rally were members of independent peace and civic organizations, and they attended the rally as an expression of legitimate concerns about nuclear weapons. (U)

On the other hand, Soviet-controlled organizations participated at the highest levels of the June 12 Committee and exert-

ed pressure to influence the June 12 Committee to focus on U.S. nuclear weapons policies as opposed to Soviet policies. Of course, the Soviets also exploited this large demonstration in its worldwide propaganda campaign against new American weapons systems. (U)

The importance the Soviets attach to influencing the peace movement to focus on U.S. and NATO weapons systems is dramatized by the letter of protest sent by Yuri Zhukov, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, to West European peace organizations. The letter, which was published in the West Berlin Tageszeitung of January 4, 1983, indicated that the East bloc peace organizations would not participate in the May, 1983, West Berlin Peace Conference because the Conference attendees hold "both sides, that is to say the East and West, equally responsible for the existing tensions and asked both the United States and the Soviet Union to withdraw all nuclear weapons from Europe." (U)

The East German response to this even-handed approach by Western European peace groups was swift and unequivocal. On January 27, 1983, the Bonn Newspaper, Die Welt, reported the arrest of twelve pacifists in East Germany who applied to German Democratic Republic authorities for travel permits to participate in the West Berlin Conference. (U)

J. American trade unions

WFTU Tenth Congress

One of the major priorities of the WFTU and CPUSA is to mobilize the trade unions in the United States to join the peace movement. In February, 1982, the WFTU held its 10th Congress in Havana, Cuba. The U.S. delegation to the Congress consisted of over 50 trade-union officials. (U)

The Congress focused primarily on peace and disarmament issues, particularly the social and economic costs of the arms race. During the Congress, Soviet delegates persistently espoused Soviet views on disarmament issues and attempted to enlist the support of other delegations in a peace offensive. The Soviets emphasized to American trade-union delegates the importance of mobilizing the working class to join the peace and disarmament demonstration in New York City in June, 1982. The Congress also adopted a policy paper entitled, "The Trade Unions and the Challenge of the 80's," which presented a systematic set of rationalizations on why trade unions of the world should join in anti-American, anti-free enterprise activities and move in a pro-Soviet direction. (U)

Labor Research Association

The IRA also sponsored a banquet luncheon honoring the Congressional Black Caucus on November 21, 1982, in New York City. Joseph Harris, a longtime CPUSA member and Director of the IRA, organized the luncheon, and he sent letters of invitation to several labor unions. (U)

III. FBI ASSESSMENT

It is extremely difficult to determine the extent to which various peace organizations and coalitions are being influenced or manipulated by the Soviet Union. An assessment of the effect of Soviet active measures on the U.S. peace movement is particularly difficult because the Soviets have endeavored to capitalize on or manipulate existing

sentiments within peace organizations, such as the desire for a nuclear weapons freeze; that parallel or tend to promote Soviet foreign policy and propaganda objectives. As the 1981 Interagency Intelligence Memorandum on Soviet Active Measures noted: "Whenever a political movement supports policies that coincide with the goals or objectives of Soviet foreign policy, the exact contribution of Soviet active measures to that movement is impossible to determine objectively." (U)

Based on information available to us, we do not believe the Soviets have achieved a dominant role in the U.S. peace and nuclear freeze movements, or that they directly control or manipulate the movement. The Soviets, however, do not view direct control or manipulation of a movement as a necessary prerequisite or condition for a successful active measures campaign. The Soviet peace campaign, for instance, is designed to focus public attention on new American nuclear weapons systems and to help create the impression that the Soviet Union is more interested than the United States in serious arms control and disarmament negotiations. This campaign does not require direct Soviet control or manipulation to be effective. The Soviets believe they can achieve these objectives through a planned series of arms control and disarmament proposals that play on the sentiments of the Western peace movements in concert with the systematic use of the Soviet worldwide propaganda apparatus, international fronts and local communist parties, and trusted contacts and agents. (U)



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Senate

SOVIET SPONSORED AND TERRORISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

● Mr. DENTON. Mr. President, international terrorism is a societal cancer of our time. Like a tumor, the malignancy, if unchecked, feeds on and destroys healthy tissue until at last the body of society, debilitated by the ravages of the disease, collapses. Moreover, the decision to combat the disease is not without its own costs. Even as chemotherapy and treatment by radiation affect normal tissue when employed to check the spread of cancer, so reprisals by the authorities of societies whose citizens are threatened and victimized by acts of terrorism may create or exacerbate tensions already present in those societies.

That of course, is the goal of the terrorist. Having forsworn the road of moderation, reason and accommodation, he seeks to generate a sense of siege and crisis in the society on which he has set his sights. Often politically motivated, many such terrorist groups display a fanatical belief in the morality of their causes, which enables them to disregard or view as inevitable, in the interest of the revolution, the misery and tragedy they cause.

Modern history is littered with examples of callous butchery. The names and acronyms of the most frequent perpetrators—the PLO, the IRA, the Red Guard, the Black September, the Faribundo Marti group in El Salvador and SWAPO in Namibia—have become household words. Moreover, each of

those groups receives large amounts of support from the Soviet Union, either directly or through Soviet surrogates such as Cuba. The pattern of their activities is distressingly familiar to those, such as I, who are familiar with what happened in Vietnam. Contact with military units is avoided or is restricted to an occasional ambush, often associated with the planting of a land mine or some other form of booby trap.

The preferred activity of the groups I mentioned is pure and simple terrorism, directed at the innocent civilian population. Terrorist activities embrace the whole spectrum: Targeted kidnapping, mutilation and other forms of "hard intimidation" of individuals; abduction of groups, often children; and wanton slaughter and destruction of the sort undertaken by the PLO, Black September, and the Provisional IRA during previous decades.

When the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism conducted hearings in March 1982 to investigate the role of the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba in fomenting terrorism in Southern Africa, we found incontrovertible evidence of Soviet penetration and control of the two major terrorist organizations in the region, the African National Congress and the Southwest Africa People's Organization. A chilling tale of Soviet manipulation emerged from the testimony of former members of the organizations and the documents included in the RECORD.

The subcommittee reported, however, that unlike SWAPO, which routinely engages in murder and brutal intimidation of political opponents, the ANC had "... not yet undertaken terrorist activity on (the same) scale, and most incidences of sabotage have been directed at installations, rather than persons." The report continued:

Mr. Mfalapitsa (one of the witnesses—an ex-ANC member) has testified, however, about plans to assassinate President Mangope of Bophutatswana, the Tswana homeland in Southern Africa. He also testified that Joe Modise, the Chief of Umkonto We Sizwe, the terrorist wing of the ANC, proposed a second phase of sabotage in which mines would be laid on farm roads near the Botswana border, presumably with the same horrible consequences that we have seen in Namibia, and farmhouses, single vehicles and small police stations would be attacked. Umkonto We Sizwe has already claimed credit for bombing an urban shopping center and automobile showrooms and for attacks on small police stations manned by South African blacks.

Shortly after the publication of the record of those hearings, I had the painful duty of informing the Senate that one of the witnesses, Mr. Bartholomew Hlapane, and his wife were murdered in their home in Soweto on December 16, 1982, by an ANC assassin armed with an AK-47 assault rifle. Mr. Hlapane, a former member of the National Executive of the ANC and of the central committee of the South African Communist Party, had testified before the subcommittee about the clandestine role of the South African Communist Party in the ANC and in the formation and direction of Umkonto We Sizwe.

At 4:21 p.m. on Friday, May 20, 1983 Umkonto We Sizwe struck again, detonating a bomb concealed in an automobile in a busy street in downtown Pretoria, South Africa's capital city, at a time when office workers were on their way home for the weekend. The blast killed 19 persons and injured 212. In a statement issued in Dar Es Salaam on May 23, the ANC proudly took credit for its cowardly act of ter-

rorism, claiming that it constituted an attack on the South African military machine.

What are the facts? Although some officers and administrative personnel of the South African Air Force have offices in one of the buildings damaged in the blast, and some of them were indeed among those killed and wounded, no fewer than 8 of the 19 persons killed and 54 of those seriously injured were black South Africans who were in the street, in a restaurant, and in a bank and other offices nearby. Two of the 19 dead were women, as were 71 of the injured. I have learned that three of the injured persons have suffered serious brain damage, at least one was blinded in both eyes, and another has lost a leg. One person is still in critical condition. People who are capable of planning such a heinous crime, let alone executing it, have no claim whatsoever to speak for freedom or common decency.

That the ANC should perpetrate such a deed, however, should not surprise us, although our revulsion should be no less. Soviet instigation of and support for terrorist activity in Asia, Africa and Latin America has no relationship to the liberation of peoples. Rather, Moscow's calculated strategy derives from Lenin's theory of imperialism, which holds that the advanced capitalist nations are structurally obliged to rely on the states of the third world for the provision of the raw materials and markets essential to the economic health of their industrialized societies. Given that strategy, South Africa is a particularly important and attractive target.

In September 1980, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, at the time a private citizen, noted in testimony to the House Subcommittee on Mines and Mining that:

Should future trends, especially in Southern Africa, result in alinement with Moscow of this critical resource area, then the U.S.S.R. will control as much as 90 percent of several key minerals for which no substitutes have been developed, and the loss of

which could bring the severest consequences to the existing economic and security framework of the free world. the United States. That is a sobering thought that ought to give pause to all of us.●

The Soviet goal toward South Africa itself has been expressed with admirable clarity by a prominent American Marxist-Leninist theoretician, Mr. Rod Bush, associate editor of Contemporary Marxism. Writing in a special issue of that journal (No. 6 of spring 1983) devoted to "proletarianization and class struggle in Africa," Mr. Bush said:

Revolutionary change in South Africa will change not only the face of Southern Africa as a region, but also the balance of forces on the entire continent and among the core powers of the world system. A revolutionary government in South Africa could use the country's highly developed industrial base to provide significant material support to Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, as well as to revolutionary governments in Zimbabwe and Namibia. A block of such revolutionary nation states in Southern Africa would greatly maximize the possibility of Socialist construction in those states and in other parts of the world system.

A revolutionary Marxist Southern Africa would reduce the penetrability of the whole area by the core powers of the world system. Even though such a victory would not remove the region from the capitalist world economy it would change the quality of its participation in the world economy and the interests on whose behalf that participation is directed. Revolutionary leadership in South Africa would end the use of that country's work force as cheap labor for transnational capital, change the terms on which transnational corporations extract the country's resources and close off the country as an outlet for direct investment.

The ANC and Umkonto We Sizwe are the Kremlin's primary instruments in its attempts to bring about a Communist revolution and a Soviet dependency in South Africa. People who support organizations, on the basis of the seductive, but wholly inaccurate, premise that they constitute a liberation movement seeking freedom for black South Africans, are contributing not only to terrorism and carnage in Southern Africa, but also to the Soviet Union's international offensive against

THE ANTITERRORISM AND FOREIGN MERCENARY ACT

HEARING

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SECURITY AND TERRORISM

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UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

S. 2255

A BILL TO AMEND TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE, TO ESTABLISH
CRIMINAL PENALTIES FOR PROVIDING SERVICES OR INFORMATION
UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES TO THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBYA
OR ITS AGENTS AND CERTAIN TERRORIST GROUPS AND FOREIGN
GOVERNMENTS TO BE NAMED BY THE PRESIDENT, AND FOR OTHER
PURPOSES

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COMMITTEE ON
THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
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FIRST SESSION
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RESPONSIBILITIES, AUTHORITY, AND ACTIVITIES OF THE DRUG
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